

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 195507

FOLLOWING REPEAT BELGRADE 5606 ACTION SECSTATE INFO
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QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 5606

GENEVA PLEASE PASS TO USUN OFFICER JOHN GRAHAM

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG
SUBJ: BELGRADE NAM MINISTERIAL - FINAL LANGUAGE ON NAM PRINCIPLES
AND ORIENTATION, RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES, PUERTO RICO, KOREA,
MIDDLE EAST

REF: A) BELGRADE 5553 B) SEOUL 6689 C) BELGRADE 5558

1. SUMMARY. FINAL LANGUAGE ON NAM PRINCIPLES AND ORIENTATION
CLEARLY REFLECT THINKING OF YUGOSLAV AND OTHER "MODERATES,"
AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON THE DESIRABILITY OF RESOLVING
DISPUTES AMONG NAM MEMBERS BY NAM MEMBERS, BUT CONCRETE STEPS
ARE LACKING. LANGUAGE ON PUERTO RICO IS UNACCEPTALBE TO U.S.
AND WORST SINCE COLOMBO. KOREA FORMULATION IS LESS STRIDENT
THAN USUAL. MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTIONS WERE ADOPTED IN TOTO
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FROM DRAFT PROVIDED BY ARAB CAUCUS AND ARE FROM OUR STANDPOINT
VERY HARSH (REPORTED REFS A AND C). OTHER ELEMENTS
OF FINAL DECLARATION WILL BE COMMENTED UPON SEPTTEL.
END SUMMARY.

2. NAM PRINCIPLES AND ORIENTATION. MODERATE EFFORTS LED
BY YUGOSLAVIA FIRMLY AND NEUTRALLY TO DEFINE NONALIGNMENT,

THEREBY COUNTERING CUBAN ATTEMPTS TO SWING THE NAM TOWARDS ALLIANCE WITH THE SOCIALIST BLOC, MET WITH A LARGE MEASURE OF SUCCESS, AT LEAST FOR THIS CONFERENCE; THE BATTLE MAY WELL CONTINUE. THE EXPANDED NAM LITANY OF EVILS TO BE STRUGGLED AGAINST NOW INCLUDES (PARA 10 OF FINAL DECLARATION): "IMPERIALISM, EXPANSIONISM, COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM, APARTHEID, RACISM INCLUDING ZIONISM, EXPLOITATION, POWER POLITICS AND ALL FORMS OF FOREIGN DOMINATION AND HEGEMONY, IN OTHER WORDS THE REJECTION OF ANY FORM OF SUBJUGATION, DEPENDENCE, INTERFERENCE OR PRESSURE, BE IT ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, OR MILITARY". FROM THE YUGOSLAV AND OTHER "MODERATES" VIEWPOINT, THE KEY ADDITION IS "ALL FORMS OF FOREIGN DOMINATION AND HEGEMONY," CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD TO REFER TO SOVIET/EASTERN BLOC. THE CUBANS HAVE TOLD US THEY DID NOT OPPOSE INCLUDING THIS LANGUAGE, BECAUSE IT CAN BE INTERPRETED TO SUIT THEM. HOWEVER, IF THEY FOLDED ON THIS LANGUAGE WITHOUT A KNOCK DOWN FIGHT, AS IT APPEARS THEY DID, IT WAS NOT BECAUSE THEY DO NOT OPPOSE THE FORMULATION BUT BECAUSE THEY KNOW THEY WERE ON A LOSING TICKET THIS TIME AROUND.

3. A SPECIAL SECTION WAS PROVIDED ON THE NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES. THE MAJOR DISPUTE DELAYING CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE WAS OVER WORDING ON NON-INTERVENTION IN THE YUGOSLAV DRAFT WHICH WAS TAKEN FROM THE OAU SUMMIT IN KHARTOUM. COMPROMISE WAS REACHED
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BY TACIT AGREEMENT LATE THE LAST DAY TO DELETE BOTH PARTS, THAT CONDEMNING INTERVENTION AS WELL AS THAT OFFERING THE RIGHT OF EVERY STATE TO SEEK AID WHERE IT WILL.

4. PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES. MINISTERS NOTED THE DANGERS OF DISPUTES BETWEEN NAM MEMBERS TO THE UNITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE MOVEMENT. THEY APPEALED TO CONCERNED PARTIES "TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT THEMSELVES TO REACH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS, PRIMARILY BY BILATERAL MEANS." WHERE PARTIES ARE IN CONFLICT "THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES CAN RENDER ASSISTANCE TO THE PARTIES IN CONFLICT BY BILATERAL MEANS, VARIOUS FORMS OF GOOD OFFICES AND BY OTHER MEANS FOR PEACEFULLY RESOLVING THE DISPUTES THAT HAVE ARISEN, ALSO WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THEIR REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS...AND, IF REQUIRED, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS WELL." WITH REGARD TO WHEN A DISPUTE MAY DEVELOP INTO CONFLICT, "THE CONFERENCE EXAMINED THE POSSIBILITY, WHEN THE PARTIES TO A DISPUTE SO REQUEST, OF ESTABLISHING INFORMAL AD HOC GROUPS FOR PROVIDING GOOD OFFICES TO PARTIES IN DISPUTE AND ENCOURAGING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, MEDIATION, GOOD OFFICES AND OTHER MEASURES EMBODIED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE

COMPOSITION OF THESE GROUPS WOULD BE DETERMINED IN THE LIGHT OF CONCRETE SITUATIONS, THE NATURE OF THE CONFLICT, AND THE VIEWS OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE DISPUTE. THE COORDINATING BUREAU COULD WORK ALONG THE SAME LINES, WHEN AND IF THE PARTIES INVOLVED SO REQUEST."

5. PUERTO RICO. THE CONFERENCE ADOPTED WORDING PROPOSED BY A LATIN AMERICAN DRAFTING GROUP, CHAIRED BY A PANAMANIAN DELEGATE. THIS WORDING WAS SAID TO BE A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE YUGOSLAV DRAFT--WHICH WAS SOMEWHAT STRONGER THAN AT HAVANA--AND WORDING SUBMITTED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO. DESPITE THIS REPORTED "COMPROMISE," THE RESULT IS THE MOST IMMODERATE STATEMENT SINCE COLOMBO: "THE MINISTERS RECALL THE EARLIER POSITION OF THE NONALIGNED
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COUNTRIES AND, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS 1514(XV), CONFIRM THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE LEGITIMATE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO THE SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE, AND CALL FOR THE URGENT ADOPTION OF MEASURES TO THIS PURPOSE. THE MINISTERS REITERATED THE DAMAND..."THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HALT ALL POLITICAL OR REPRESSIVE MANEUVERS THAT TEND TO PERPETURATE PUERTO RICO'S COLONIAL STATUS AND EXPRESSED GREAT CONCERN THAT THESE MANEUVERS ARE CONTINUING." "THE MINISTERS FURTHER CONDEMNED THE PERSISTENCE OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES, SUCH AS THOSE IN CUBA AND PUERTO RICO, AND REAFFIRMED THE DEMAND...THAT THE MILITARY POWERS IMMEDIATELY RESTORE THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTIES AND DISMANTLE THE MILITARY BASES ESTABLISHED AGAINST THE WILL OF THEIR PEOPLES."

6. KOREA. DESPITE A HARDENING OF POSITION BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND YUGOSLAV DRAFTS, THE NORTH KOREANS EVENTUALLY DECIDED TO PROPOSE A LESS STRIDENT STATEMENT WHICH WAS FURTHER SOFTENED BY A KUWAITI AMENDMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE NORTH KOREANS. "THE CONFERENCE OBSERVES WITH CONCERN THAT DESPITE THE WISHES OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE FOR THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THEIR FATHERLAND, KOREA CONTINUES TO REMAIN DIVIDED, CREATING A TENSE SITUATION WHICH IS A POTENTIAL THREAT TO PEACE. THE MINISTERS REJECT ALL ATTEMPTS TO DIVIDE KOREA INTO TWO PARTS AS BEING CONTRARY TO THE DESIRE OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE.

7. "THE MINISTERS WELCOME THE STAND OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO REALIZE THE INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF THEIR COUNTRY, FREE FROM ANY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE, IN KEEPING WITH THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF
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INDEPENDENCE, PEACEFUL UNIFICATION, AND GREAT NATIONAL UNITY,
SET OUT IN THE JOINT NORTH-SOUTH STATEMENT OF 4 JULY 1972.

8. "THE CONFERENCE CALLS UPON ALL COUNTRIES TO RESPECT THE
DESIRE OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE FOR PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION AND
EXPRESSES THE HOPE THAT THE FULFILLMENT OF THIS DESIRE WILL
BE ASSISTED BY THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS, THE
DISSOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND, THE
DISMANTLING OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND OTHER FOREIGN
MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN SOUTH KOREA, AND REPLACEMENT OF
THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT BY A LASTING PEACE AGREEMENT, TAKING
INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE KOREAN PEOPLE AND THE
FREE EXPRESSION OF ITS WILL."

9. MIDDLE EAST. THE CONFERENCE ADOPTED WITHOUT CHANGE
LANGUAGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND PALESTINE PROPOSED BY THE
ARAB CAUCUS (SEE REFS A AND C). THE ORIGINS OF THIS ARAB
CONSENSUS REMAIN HAZY, BUT IT WAS IMMEDIATELY THE RESULT
OF A KUWAITI INITIATIVE ASSISTED BY TUNISIA AND
YUGOSLAVIA. THE YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER VRHOVEC AND HIS
PREDECESSOR MINIC WERE REPORTEDLY QUITE ACTIVELY CONVERSING
PRIOR TO THE FIRST ALL ARAB MEETING WITH MOST ARAB FOREIGN
MINISTERS. THE YUGOSLAV ROLE IS NOT CLEAR, BUT IN ANY EVENT,
ARAB CONSENSUS WAS MOST WELCOME TO THE YUGOSLAVS, AS EVIDENCED
IN VRHOVEC'S CLOSING REMARKS TO THE CONFERENCE (SEPTTEL).

10. IN PREPARING THE ARAB LANGUAGE TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE
CONFERENCE ONLY THREE DRAFTS WERE PROPOSED--BY SYRIA, THE
PLO, AND THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE. AGREEMENT WAS REPORTEDLY
REACHED RAPIDLY AND WITHOUT MUCH DISCUSSION.
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